

PEACE NEWS

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CAN WAR BE LIMITED?

THE answer to this question, in the view of Captain B. H. Liddell Hart, is a qualified "Yes."

Speaking at a National Peace Council lunch-hour meeting on Friday last, he argued that while logic says we cannot set a limit to degrees of violence in wartime, history replies "nonsense"—in the past the barbarities of war have been very definitely limited.

The statement of the Nuremberg Judges that never before had there been such crimes against humanity was sheer absurdity. "Hitler was a gentleman compared with Caesar." The armies of Greece and Rome, whom we regard as "civilised," outstripped anything we have seen in their brutality to civil populations and prisoners of war.

The first humanisation came with the acceptance of Christianity and the medieval code of chivalry, including certain rules of warfare. A great improvement was effected by the use of mercenaries—leading to respect for one's opponent—as opposed to citizen armies, inflamed by patriotic and religious passions.

The Thirty Years War, for example, which split the controlling authority of the Church, heralded the darkest ages of barbarity. Civilisation was only saved by the consequent revolution from violence. "Reason stepped in where Religion had failed."

The French Revolution again broke down this system, and by introducing conscription paved the way for the Prussian militarists.

With the 1914 war came great scientific improvement of weapons and the advent of propaganda. Submarines and aircraft could not be fitted into any rules of limitation, and propaganda ensured a harsh and vindictive peace, which in its turn gave rise to Hitlerism and World War II.

Contrary to popular opinion, the militarists of both sides in this conflict observed the accepted rules.

The final breakdown of limitations came with the use of air-power, leading to a sweeping disregard of humane restrictions. It was in fact this country which first rejected the Continental view that bombing should be restricted to battle areas. Hitler conformed to this restriction until the bombing of London, which was first carried out as a reprisal. The destruction of Rotterdam and Warsaw, which so shocked public opinion, was in fact only effected after the armies had started fighting in those cities.

Captain Liddell Hart pointed out that it was frequently the opponents of aggression, rather than the original aggressors, who resorted to extremes of violence, not having calculated in advance its suicidal dangers.

But there was still hope for the future. We could strive to prevent war altogether by a world federation, or we could concentrate on qualitative disarmament.

In recommending this latter course, Capt. Liddell Hart pleaded for a new code of warfare. A first step would be the abolition of conscription.

OUR CHRISTMAS ISSUE NEXT WEEK

THE special eight-page Christmas number of Peace News will be published next week. It will contain the first of a series of monthly articles by Vera Brittain, which take the place of her "Letter to Peace Lovers," and articles by Geo. M. Ll. Davies, John Seaton and Owinglass. We want readers to help us in making PN even more widely known by sending complimentary copies of the issue to sympathetic friends, local church leaders and everyone else who ought to be seeing the paper.

WHERE BIG THREE MIGHT LEARN

—HOLLAND, BELGIUM, LUXEMBOURG

NOW, when it looks more probable than ever that the post-war world will have to get along somehow without even the make-believe of peace-treaties however unpeacefully arrived at, it becomes difficult to continue to keep our eyes shut to the significant example set by three small countries.

Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg have signed a Customs Union agreement. They are abolishing currency rivalry, unfair competition in the tourist trade, disjointed endeavours to grow strong and wealthy without regard one for another, doing away at one swoop with dozens of the causes of friction which, on a larger scale, make for war.

There has always been something fundamentally unsound about the existence of an organisation called the United Nations and, at the same time, the conception of a world classified into big, smaller and small nations. There is also something positively ridiculous—and, strangely enough, hardly ever noticed by most people—about the glib way in which we talk at one moment about the Big Three, the next about the Big Four, and another minute later about the Big Five.

Then there were two

Then, to cap it all, in recent days we have, in certain considerations of first-rate importance, reduced even the Big Three to the Big Two—America and Russia—accepting it as fact that in the last resort Great Britain is no longer in a position to claim equality with either.

Logically, all this is as wrong as can be. In a true United Nations the number of those justified in calling themselves big, nor the differentiation into three or four categories of size would be important enough to find their way into the conversation every time international affairs are discussed. A healthy man is not for ever harping on the difference in size between his fingers and his feet, or his ears and his chest. He knows that each of them is big enough to serve the common purposes of his body, and that his all-round comfort and efficiency would be less if rights, care and attention went by size.

Practically, there is a difference. The final goal of a world government as anxious about the welfare of the weak as that of the strong can be attained only by a process of elimination. Since it must mean the gradual surrender of sovereignty by all

—by—
ROY SHERWOOD

nations—and not one of them is so far ready to do that voluntarily—it follows that world government must either remain a dream for the survivors of the next war, or the surrender of sovereignty will come about by a mixture of compulsion and luck.

The compulsion will naturally be used first where it stands the best chance of success, which means that it will begin with the weak and advance slowly in the direction of the strong until it has overpowered everybody, one by one. The luck will consist in the existence of circumstances in which sovereignty may be surrendered, bit by bit, "voluntarily" for two reasons: first, that whatever partial surrender is asked for appears profitable; second, that this process of piecemeal surrender may not be realised in its full implications.

We see both processes at work at present. Relegating hundreds of millions of people to second or third rank because they belonged to one of the scores of nations outside the Big Five, was the first turn of the screw of compulsory elimination to a condition in which full sovereignty still appears to be in existence, but is not in fact, having already been limited in scope; progressing from Big Five to Big Four, was the second; from Big Four to Big Three the third; from Big Three to the formation of two blocs led by America and Russia respectively, the fourth, and up to the present, the last on the road of sheer compulsion by facts.

The real trouble begins, of course, in this sort of thing when there are only two left to play the game of elimination; for, whilst it can be played up to this point without actual bloodshed, when only two would-be eliminators are left, only a difference in power so glaring as to make a fight suicidal for the smaller can prevent the certainty of a final flare-up. This glaring difference in size and power does not exist between America and Russia.

So far then the logic of facts argues for the inevitability of the

atomic war, with the real chance of survival for *homo sapiens* wholly centred on man's astounding gifts of adaptability. Humans of the type of the recently discovered Gazelle-Boy, needing no cooked food, living on grass and capable of physical endurance long since lost by soft city-dwellers, may prove the connecting link to a new species of *homo*, eventually to develop into a man as far in advance of us as we are in advance of the Neanderthal man—and the Gazelle-Boy type may one day become the Missing Link for which men in the remote future may search, as we are searching for a Missing Link in our own past.

Instinctively one feels that there must be an alternative, however much reason tells us to distrust so self-complacent an instinct. Self-complacent or not, where is that alternative? Since it can only lie in the surrender of sovereignty and nationalism, at least the direction is not hard to find. Sovereignty has long ceased to be personal, and nationalism is little more than a century old. That, by the way, is probably why it is so pugnacious. It is a *nouveau riche* among man's intellectual possessions.

The flank attack

Sovereignty and nationalism stiffen and harden under frontal attack. But customs unions, uniformity of currencies and standards of living, ease of communications, abolition of visas, joint trade policies, manufactures directed to complement one another, control of unnecessary forms of competition and steady encouragement and development of joint interests, can go a long way towards making them innocuous, while all the time such influences are at work, sovereignty and nationalism tend to wither of themselves. To abolish a frontier is next to an impossibility. To cause it to be forgotten within ten years, is comparatively simple.

Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg have set out along that road, and negotiations not quite so wide in scope but based upon the same principle are reported to be in progress between the whole group and France.

Even America and Russia could find, were they to try hard enough, some dozens of subjects of non-political character on which their people's feelings and interests harmonise sufficiently to make first agreements possible, and the very announcement of such an agreement having become fact would soften at least the edges of the present antagonisms. It would be foolish to exaggerate the practical value of that alternative. But of its being the only one, there can be little doubt.

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The only defence against The Bomb

THE most popular of all American magazines, The Saturday Evening Post, recently published an article driving home to its vast public the implications of the conclusion reached by the American General Staff concerning the atomic bomb. "The only sure defence of the United States is political defence"—that is to say, such political arrangements as will make atomic war impossible.

For the General Staff to come to that conclusion is evidence that the military mind is now aware that the atomic bomb has carried mankind into a new era, or blown it into a new dimension of existence. After giving a grim, but really sober picture of what would be involved in any attempt at a purely military defence of

COMMENTARY

by

John Middleton Murry

USA and pointing out that these minimum military dispositions would necessitate the abolition of democracy in USA, the article ended:

"If Americans achieve understanding of this conclusion, there can be only one result. They will insist, with all their power and authority, upon internationalisation of atomic energy control, with real and adequate safeguards. They will insist upon making the United Nations a working world-organisation, capable of settling world-problems by peaceful means. And from these objectives Americans will not be turned back either by the complexity of the task, or by the opposition of others, or by weakness in themselves."

USA means business

THE evidence is growing that USA means business in this matter. It is behaving diplomatically: it left it to the British delegate, Sir Hartley Shawcross, to denounce the second version of the Molotov disarmament proposal as "humbug," and it put forward a form of resolution which is plainly designed to make it easier for Russia to take a new line. It would be a waste of space to copy the American resolution—"360 words of the ghastly United Nations lingo" as Mr. Alistair Cooke describes it—but the point is that (1) it calls upon the Security Council in seeking disarmament to consider first the forthcoming

report of the Atomic Energy Commission and (2) it requires that any system of inspection shall contain guarantees against evasion. In favour of this resolution Mr. Molotov dropped his own.

Mr. Molotov explicitly abandoned the position previously taken by Mr. Vyshinsky.

"The proposed control commissions," he said, "were not the Security Council, and the principle of unanimity had no reference to their rules. No power would be able by the exercise of the veto to obstruct the fulfilment of control and inspection." (Times, Dec. 5).

Baruch's three points

WE are not out of the wood yet, by a long way. But it is plain that Soviet Russia is giving ground. The Atomic Energy Commission is now back in its old and proper place, making the running. And Mr. Baruch is now pressing for the definite adoption or rejection of three main proposals which "in all study and discussion of the subject in more than 70 meetings of the Commission and its committees has been found inherent and inevitable." (News-Chronicle, December 6).

(1) "The erection of an international authority which shall effectively prevent the manufacture and use of atomic bombs for war purposes and which shall develop the use of atomic energy for social gain."

(2) "The right of free and full international inspection in support of these purposes."

(3) "The definite agreement that once a treaty becomes effective providing for deterrents against offences and punishments for offenders, there can be no veto to protect wilful violators or to hamper the operations of the international authority."

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

PEACE NEWS

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All letters on other than editorial matters
should be addressed to the Manager

THE CONSCRIPT

WHAT should my attitude be towards conscription, if I decided I was a C.O.?" Confronted with this question by an eighteen-year-old, we realised that there was no simple answer, now any more than in 1939. Two standpoints at least are consistent with the Pledge.

We may declare (1) That it is best for men always to do what they believe to be right, even if they believe it is right to fight. Gandhi argued this way in 1914-18, even going so far as to support a recruiting campaign, on the ground that it was morally healthier for Indians, who were not pacifists, to fight from conviction than refrain from cowardice or indifference; and it can be argued that the moral climate of this country was healthier in September 1940 than it was in September 1938.

If we adopt this attitude, we shall acknowledge the exemption of C.O.s gratefully (it is in any case a unique concession to the fundamental principle of democracy, that a minority may be in the right) and accept the conditions imposed by Tribunals, unless they conflict with a positive "calling" to some different way of life. We shall also, of course, go on trying to win converts to pacifism, and thereby strengthen the opposition both to war and training for war.

On the other hand, we may declare (2) That war is so evil, as an objective fact, that the beliefs inspiring its supporters are irrelevant; conscription is the negation of education, an inculcation of false values in those who have not yet discovered any truer: it should be opposed in the real interests even of those who accept it.

In this case, if we are democrats, we shall still grant the right of the Government to make war and impose conscription—when these measures are approved by a majority after open debate in Parliament—but we shall treat the conscription Act as we should treat an Act requiring ourselves to fight. We shall exercise our own right also: not merely to go on propagating pacifism while conforming to the law (just as we might agitate for the repeal of rationing, while keeping away from the Black Market, or the repeal of the Licensing Act, while not seeking to enter pubs after hours), but to go to prison for defying the law. For we shall refuse to comply even with the clause which demands our appearance before Tribunals.

Which of these attitudes (1) or (2) does the PPU recommend? A deep cleavage over the issue was apparent in 1939. The majority of the Union subscribed to the first: but there are some who contend that this was a mistake, which has done much to deprive us of initiative and influence; we should stand for the second now.

Our own recommendation to the eighteen-year-old would be: study the arguments for both—that is your privilege and responsibility—and decide for yourself which is better. Whichever standpoint you adopt, you will be unable to maintain it unless you are convinced in your own heart and mind that it is right. Whichever you adopt from genuine conviction, we shall give you all the support in our power.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.

"IN A WORLD OF SHORTAGE . . ."

by DONALD PORT

"IT'S no good your arguing about foreign policy," said the business man who was fourth on our table. "You'll never change it. That's what's wrong with those Labour fellows and their amendment. They talk about changing the policy of the government as though the Foreign Office were run like their local borough health department."

"I know a chap who's over in Paris for UNESCO and he says there's such a multitude of officials and red tape that the Huxleys and Priestleys have little effect. The machine is so colossal that only a first-class organiser could move it. Only a Bevin could move it. That's why what happens outside the Foreign Ministers' Council is unimportant. The future peace of the world depends on the psychological and temperamental relationships between Bevin, Byrnes and Molotov."

Economic consequences

Seen in that perspective, even allowing for exaggerations, our discussion was quite useless. Perhaps Mr. Crossman was blessed with some such vision when, at the Parliamentary Labour Party meeting, he apologised to the Prime Minister for the line which he had taken. To shift the emphasis of British support without accepting the economic consequences of that policy; to vote against conscription without realising that British Middle East troops are the only present guarantee of petrol for this country—these would be irresponsible actions. And the solution does not lie, as our little business man seemed to believe, in capturing new markets in Africa (give them their freedom: increase their spending power) and South East Asia (then we can talk big).

"In a world of shortage, the more

we export, the quicker we shall prosper." The mathematics of the slogan are sound but, as with other human situations, do not provide the whole picture. The turn of phrase is, though showing a touch of cynical realism, unpleasantly reminiscent of an argument about free enterprise, which was supposed to secure the greatest happiness of the greatest number. That particular school of economists was discredited because it failed to understand the other factors involved in social behaviour. It would be a tragedy if socialists committed the same mistake on a world wide scale.

The business man set us discussing what action Mr. Crossman and his confederates might have taken. And though we were forced to concede the virtual impossibility of influencing present British foreign policy, we yet did not lapse into a condition of personal despair. The people who, in the nineteenth century, turned out to be realists were those who planned, on no matter how small a scale, for the arrival of economic co-operation. Some of them floundered and gave up, but even the most stupid and anarchist idealist is a dearer name to contemporary historians than the hard-headed business men who made the Empire what it was.

So it will be, we contended, with world politics; and though that gives no-one the excuse to sleep out his present political responsibility, it does restore an initiative to the individual which is constantly denied by government policy. Mr. Crossman and his friends may not welcome the bitter truth that they could have more immediate effect in an international work camp in Germany or Russia than by making their speeches in the House of Commons. They probably will not welcome that truth until they recognise that their speeches in the Commons would be more effective if they, and many

FAITH AND FUNDS

A NEWLY joined member has sent us a notable contribution. "This sum," he writes, "is the amount of my service gratuity which I am glad to be rid of both for its practical worth to the cause I value and as a gesture of the shame with which I regard my part in the late war."

A gift like this fills us with a sense almost of awe. Many of us have been brought up in the pacifist tradition. It is easy and natural for us to go this way: we "can do no other." For our new comrade, to join the PPU means a complete break with the past. It is the moral courage required by that response to experience that calls forth our esteem. So long as such things still happen there is no cause for despair. Rather one supporter with faith than large sums from nominal members. If a full kitty were all we had, our movement would be doomed; but faith, however short of funds, can never fail.

In his note, our friend is asking us to act as Trustees of his new found faith. He has placed not only his service gratuity in our hands; but something infinitely more precious—he has placed his faith in us.

We find that we have appealed for faith rather than funds. Let it stand. The one is a token of the other.

MAUD ROWNTREE
CORDER CATCHPOOL
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other people, were engaged on direct international service which short-circuited the fantastic machinery of Government.

For other than professional politicians, however, the moral is clear. The more others prosper the quicker we shall prosper, may not sound good mathematics. But neither is mathematics a satisfactory measurement of human needs and achievements. If counting heads or breaking them were measurements of ultimate success, we might have shared the business man's naive trust in expansionist ethics.

As it is, we hope that despair of changing Bevin's foreign policy will lead to independent action. And if personal war renunciation and direct international service seem small achievements to set against the machine of government, they, at least, represent a more solid success than a dozen slogans promising prosperity as a reward for hard work. And it seemed to us that national dedication to such ends is the only real alternative to Bevin foreign policy. Shifting the emphasis of present power politics is no alternative at all.

never see a friend or receive a letter, "adopt" these lonely souls as pen friends. Thus they know they are not quite forgotten by the world outside, and in many cases deep and lasting friendships spring up.

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If you are willing to act as a Pen Friend, or know of any lonely person who would like to be put into touch with one, please write direct to the National Hon. Sec., Miss M. A. Pratt, "Hillview," Bryants Bottom, Great Missenden, Bucks., or to me.

R. NORRIS PAGE.

73 Woodfield Drive,
East Barnet, Herts.

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Who bells the cat?

WE all know that national sovereignty will only be abolished when the great powers are willing to disarm. The question is will they disarm if, or when, the veto is abolished. Russia shows no inclination to submit to majority rule in this matter, but then neither do any of the other great powers.

Even if the veto were abolished we should be in just the same position as under the League. The United Nations may, of course, have "teeth," but it would be found that the teeth were false, in care of the nations who would only be prepared to lend them to UNO if it suited them to do so.

America is only willing to give up the secret of the atomic bomb if Russia is willing to forego the veto and submit to inspection. Under these conditions Russia is not likely to do so. If after inspection there is nothing to fear from Russia the question is who is going to bell the American cat? If Mr. Murry could tell the Russians, then there might be something in his argument that it is only Russia who is standing in the way of world disarmament and peace.

H. HILDITCH.

23 Tixall Road,
Birmingham, 28.

Conscience clauses

I SEE that the CBO are asking the Prime Minister to accept a deputation to discuss the conscience clause in the suggested Conscription Bill.

It is a great pity that we are still bothering about conscience clauses instead of refusing to have anything to do with conscription.

Our experience of exemptions in both the 1914 and 1939 wars has proved quite clearly that a conscience clause is one of the best means ever devised for splitting the opposition and I would suggest that the only effective thing to do is to refuse to register under the Conscription Acts and accept the consequences.

ALBERT LAVERACK.

"Wynn Garth,"
Belmont Avenue,
Bailldon, Nr. Shipley,
Yorks.

No exemption

IF we want Peace News to reach a wider public, then I do not see any good in printing an article like that by Ian Arnison. What C.O.s should be doing is to fight conscription, not trying to get complete exemption for themselves.

I am not at all sure it won't be good for them to see another side of

LETTERS

life for 18 months; in any case it is much less a waste of time for them than for the young men who are drilled into soldiers. Other people have careers besides C.O.s, and I think it is too much to expect tribunals to let C.O.s get an 18 months start in their jobs, University careers, etc. I am quite sure Ian Arnison is wrong—public opinion would certainly be outraged. Let us concentrate on fighting the whole business of conscription. That is the main thing.

MARGARET DALE.

49 Sketty Park Road,
Swansea.

No security

I WAS surprised to learn (PN, December 6) that the Birmingham PPU Group had argued, in its letter to the Prime Minister, that "conscription affords no guarantee of security from war": surprised, because I have never heard anyone suggest that it did, or even that it afforded a guarantee of victory in war.

Since when were pacifists so concerned with security? Unilateral disarmament certainly offers none. The pacifist slogan, as Max Plowman says in one of his letters, should be "No Security." Pacifism is a faith for brave men. Why advertise it as a refuge for cowards?

B. ODSBUR.

Belsize Park, N.W.3.

Pen-friends guild

A small body of concerned people, known as the Pen Friends' Guild, realising that there are in our Public Assistance Institutions hundreds of lonely folk who

GERM

WE were visit Internmen Westphalia, wh thousands of Nazis men. These ir Hitler's Germany still represent a large energetic, and intellig the nation. We were British Intelligence morale and opinion v Nothing of any impos there, he claimed, w know about within tw How? Everyone v "squeal," to inform comrades, and the i men were among the him.

This, remarked my professor of history, phenomenon in a society. Gone were loyalty, the common l of some definite purpose, aimlessness, nih suit of self-interest b place.

In miniat

These camps, in this other things, are pictu of Germany as a wh of totalitarianism has mutual mistrust, a clo which is aggravated b wire mentality" of a tion. The Germans cut off from the world; of impartial disinte does not reach them. on rumours. Defeat r ation between groups Deprived of the oppo themselves to better t Germans look for For some it is Hitle Churchill. But the wr for Hitler or Churchill on to the woman ac whose husband was a the pastor who did not.

Some, who have suff now their day has come has been in a conce claims more to eat; i

THE P

A. C. Barrington, despatch is printed PPU member. Im attempting to hold meeting in 1941, at 1942 for contributi vately circulated Bulletin (whose edi two and a half years President of the N FOR., and with about to join the Christian Pacifist in South Island.

AT the recent G tion in New Z on Nov. 27; abou scientific objectors allowed to vote.

In all public refere they are described as faulters" but they are refused military servic of conscience and were in detention camps or refused at the outset to Armed Forces Appeal valent to Local Trib hearings of Public Hardship exemption ap; called-up men also cam Boards and there wa; against their decisions, majority are men who

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Editor: LARRATT

From: W. H. SMITH'S
BOOKSELLER

GERMANY UNRECONCILED

WE were visiting a Civilian Internment Camp in Westphalia, which held thousands of Nazis and business men. These internees ran Hitler's Germany; and they still represent a large part of the most energetic, and intelligent elements of the nation. We were talking to the British Intelligence Officer about morale and opinion within the camp. Nothing of any importance happened there, he claimed, which he did not know about within twenty-four hours. How? Everyone was ready to "sneak" to inform against their comrades, and the former Gestapo men were among the most useful to him.

This, remarked my companion, a professor of history, was a typical phenomenon in a disintegrating society. Gone were the bonds of loyalty, the common beliefs, the spur of some definite purpose. Hopelessness, aimlessness, nihilism, the pursuit of self-interest had taken their place.

In miniature

These camps, in this as in so many other things, are pictures in miniature of Germany as a whole. The crash of totalitarianism has left behind it a mutual mistrust, a cloud of suspicion, which is aggravated by the "barbed-wire mentality" of a sense of isolation. The Germans feel themselves cut off from the world; the fresh wind of impartial disinterested opinion does not reach them. Cynicism feeds on rumours. Defeat means recrimination between groups and individuals. Deprived of the opportunity to help themselves to better their plight, the Germans look for whipping-boys. For some it is Hitler; for others, Churchill. But the wrath is not kept for Hitler or Churchill; it is directed on to the woman across the street whose husband was a Nazi, or on to the pastor who did not compromise.

Some, who have suffered, feel that now their day has come. The man who has been in a concentration camp claims more to eat, the old social-

by
GRIGOR MCCLELLAND

This is the first of two articles which Grigor McClelland has written by request for Peace News. He is the author of an N.P.C. paper on the psychological situation in Germany to-day, and was for six months leader of a Friends' Ambulance Unit team engaged in civilian relief-work in Dortmund.

democrat wants root-and-branch denazification. But too often these people who claim their rights (and none can deny that they are their rights), are a little too inclined to tread on other people's corns, a little too violent and self-righteous; and a barrier of hostility is raised against them.

The bombs have struck indiscriminately. New social inequalities are raised up. The townsmen must beg from the countrymen; the bombed-outs from the householders; the refugees from the residents. But no-one likes to beg, and the proud will hate those they beg from; and since no-one likes to have his charity importuned and over-loaded, the fortunate excuse their hard-heartedness by denouncing the beggars. And these conflicts arise not between strangers only but in the very home, for there is scarcely a family with house untouched, but has another family billeted upon it. These tensions are multiplied by the psychology of bereavement or disability; and intensified by overcrowding and lack of privacy.

Not only disorganisation, but also demoralisation, follows war; and both together produce an unsightly scramble for the necessities of life. Where there is no purpose and no hope, or where the baby is underweight and its mother's cheeks are sunken, it is not possible to refrain from dealing on the black market, from profiteering, or from looting, as opportunity occurs. And since these offences affect people's daily bread, it

is in no spirit of tolerance but in one rather of vindictiveness, that remedies are discussed and offenders castigated.

Not only material but immaterial capital is to be made out of the situation. Here is our chance, say the great organisations, to mould the new Germany after the pattern of our hearts; and the competition of the Church and the political parties to capture the votes of adults or the souls of youths, is a competition of near-totalitarian organisations which stretches into many departments of life—such as sport, and boys' clubs—untouched in England by such considerations. Being spurred on too much by purely sectional interests, it is a rivalry which often degenerates into hostility.

All mistrustful

German people, then, are split up, by divisions running this way and that, into an infinitude of social groups, each more or less mistrustful of the others. Germany, we may say, is divided against herself, unreconciled. Nor is Germany reconciled to the outer world. This world is, we must realise, represented to the average German only by the occupying troops and powers, and by the Displaced Persons still not repatriated. The bitterness of the underdog—and still more of the underfed—prevents reconciliation here.

The high hopes of goodwill and effective help from Britain and America have been disappointed. As industry runs more and more slowly, as capital is used up or taken away, as inadequate rations debilitate the people, and as the victor powers continue to disagree, disillusionment grows.

And here a most pernicious, though not unnatural, thought creeps into the German mind. If agreement among the victor powers, which might have resulted in the effective rehabilitation of Germany, is not forthcoming—well then, perhaps it is possible for Germany to exploit their disagreement to her own advantage. It is with the implications of this attitude, and with the chances of putting something more constructive in its place, that a subsequent article will deal.

In New Zealand today

THE POLL — AND THE PACIFISTS

A. C. Barrington, whose first despatch is printed here, is a PPU member. Imprisoned for attempting to hold a pacifist meeting in 1941, and again in 1942 for contributing to a privately circulated cyclostyled Bulletin (whose editor received two and a half years), he is now President of the New Zealand FOR., and with his family about to join the Riverside Christian Pacifist Community in South Island.

At the recent General Election in New Zealand, held on Nov. 27; about 700 conscientious objectors were not allowed to vote.

In all public references to them they are described as "military defaulters" but they are all men who refused military service on grounds of conscience and were held for years in detention camps or prisons. Some refused at the outset to apply to the Armed Forces Appeal Boards (equivalent to Local Tribunal) though hearings of Public Interest and Hardship exemption appeals by other called-up men also came before these Boards and there was no appeal against their decisions. But the majority are men who did apply and

had their claims rejected. All, on failing to report for service were sentenced to detention (usually preceded by two or three months' ordinary

by A. C. BARRINGTON

imprisonment) for "the duration of the war."

Not until many of the men had been in detention camps, or prisons, for four years or more were "Revision Authorities" (two one-man tribunals) set up. These were not given a status superior to the original Boards and had power merely to release "on parole" detained or imprisoned men whom they found to be genuine conscientious objectors. These were released at once, all others (even those who had escaped and had been at large for long periods) were out by May of this year. Until the end of June all released men were directed to rigid categories of unskilled labour, unless of low medical grading. They are still "on parole"—for election purposes anyway, and whether or not declared "genuine" by the Revision Authorities.

C.O.'s whose original appeals were allowed by the Armed Forces Appeal Boards were free all through the war, and have not been disfranchised. Their only disability was a limitation of earnings to equivalent of soldiers' pay and allowances (which were on a fairly liberal scale—a married man with three children, for example, being allowed £430). If in employment of any kind they were left undisturbed, except for teachers (State Education system) who were compulsorily given leave of absence without pay "for the duration." They have not yet been reinstated.

As an exempted C.O. my right to continue as Secretary of the W.E.A. was never questioned, although following my imprisonment for pacifist activities in 1941, unofficial pressure was brought to bear on the W.E.A. to dismiss me. The City

Council, the Harbour Board and the Macarthy Trust have each year since 1942 refused to make the grant to the W.E.A. because I was retained.

After the 1914 war the late Harry Holland, revered leader of the New Zealand Labour Party, published a little book, "Armageddon or Calvary" recording the harsh treatment accorded to New Zealand C.O.'s "in order to make it impossible for such a stupendous wrong to ever again sully the annals of this country with the record of its atrociousness." The Tory Government brought down a Bill providing *inter alia* for the disfranchisement of C.O.'s. Holland quotes a strong attack on the Bill in Parliament (1919) by Peter Fraser, himself sent to gaol for a year in 1916 Mr. Fraser claimed that this sort of legislation was proving that the Prussianism they had set out to defeat was being enthroned.

The same Peter Fraser is now Prime Minister and thus responsible for this disfranchisement of 700 C.O.'s of the 1939 war, just as, throughout the war he was responsible for conscription, detention camps, and the sentencing of C.O.'s for "the duration of the war." He is ably supported by Hon. Robert Semple who was imprisoned with him over the 1916 anti-conscription fight but who, in 1941, was photographed for the press as Minister of National Service drawing the first marble in the conscription ballot to drive the men of this generation to war. Right up until Labour came into power in 1935 Mr. Semple used to travel the country with a lantern lecture entitled "The Ghastly Horrors of War" and calling on the people to prevent it.

The General Election was a straight-out contest between Labour and "National" (led by S. G. Holland, not related to Harry). Communists, claiming to support Labour, have three "token" candidates. In 1943 there were four independent pacifist candidates but none are standing this time.

December 13, 1946, PEACE NEWS—3

Pastoral

I & II Chronicles — B. & F. Bible Society 3d.

THE Bible Society have done well to publish separately books from the great library. It is a pity they do so in so sombre a form. So dull and funereal a cover gives the reader a poor start, but if he gets over the black cloth binding and the grim red edges, the eager reader will find a good liveliness inside.

Turbulent events are sorted out with a literary style, so simple and strong that the savour of the writer's amazing composure touches one with its own blessed infection—a boon not now to be despised by most. The story jogs on, very gentle and kind: to the mind it possesses something of the feel of an old plough handle polished with the labourer's sweat through many tillings.

The ancient chronicler possesses a clue to history which, however naive, traces the thread of meaning amid the sound and fury of tumultuous years. The clue is that history is good when the ruler "seeks the Lord with all his heart" and bad when he doesn't. It is a sort of old treacle print of the historian's art. But has it anything to tell the modern craftsman? He needs all the help he can get in his prodigious task of surveying modern events and disclosing some thread of meaning which even the atom bombs have not severed.

Of course the first reaction would be to say that, as a serious historic study, the writing is vitiated by a religious dogmatism, mangling the data of life. But if that be so why isn't the book dull? For the sin of the dogmatist of the bad sort is to cloud the reality of events so as to allow his cherished ideas about life to survive. Always, when the facts are doctored, they are dulled.

Unfortunately the expression about "seeking the Lord" holds unpleasant associations, provoking suspicion which would preclude some readers from appreciating a piece of beautiful historical art. If such were to read "x" where the expression recurs as it does often, they may profitably by-pass their fears, and profit withal. There is a type of mind fairly common today which would get going on the search for reality if it would begin to mark out "x," the unknown quantity as its quest. This would remove the reader little from the mind of the writer.

Certainly "seeking the Lord" meant that good Kings engaged in a lot of religious ceremony, but, far more than that it meant that they trembled before "x." They recognised the utterly mysterious and incalculable gap in their own knowledge and power, and diligently sought to keep it in mind. Their circumstances of wealth and power they dreaded to make a closed circle of security.

It was humiliating to have this awesome gap open to the unknown, because it seriously compromised their power. In the name of "x" they were subject to rebuke and correction from adepts, who often were obscure men able to command royal notice and guide the King's action, but exalted by their visions above any desire for reward or favour. The consequent reverence and holy fear of "x" diverted the good King and his people from the worship of the work of their own hands, which is idolatry. The gap was a safety-valve for surplus wealth and energy, which were employed in adorning the altar and promoting culture rather than in wars of greed and fear of their neighbours.

Such were the employment of the bad kings, who sought to forget, rather than to know "x." For example, Ahab's four hundred unanimous prophets were a kind of body-guard protecting the evil king from any contradiction and discomfort of the dread unknown. Brave acceptance of the fear and the humiliation, and the going out to find it was the secret of peace and good history. That of course was the faith of the Chronicler, as a true son of Abraham. The quest of the pacifist must, as Murry says, be a quest of faith, which will dissipate itself if it has too much sight.

Perhaps the only real solvent of the self, the root of dogmatism, is "going out not knowing whither."

JACQUES.

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Editor: LARRATT BATTERSBY
From: W. H. SMITH'S and LEADING
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Liberty and Order

Politics and Morals, by Benedetto Croce (Allen and Unwin, 8s. 6d.)

PHILOSOPHERS, designated by Plato as the proper men to rule society, have seldom come near to doing so; seldom even wished to. Among living philosophers there has been a marked preference for a quiet life to the rough and tumble of practical politics: Wittgenstein, Russell, Moore, Carnap and Whitehead, to name only the most eminent, quit their respective countries when the crisis came.

An exception is Benedetto Croce, the greatest of the lot as the scholar, and the most worthy of the layman's attention, if only because he remained at his post in Italy under fascism, resisting Mussolini, and lately accepted the responsibility of statesmanship.

Croce's new book is an exposition of liberalism. His creed differs from British liberalism largely in being less sentimental. At variance with the materialistic socialism of the continent, Croce is not so far removed from the more Christian socialism of England. His subjects are order and freedom, and if he seems to come down rather heavily on the side of order, he has at least the merit of knowing what he means by freedom. Thus:

"The moral conscience requires that each man, upon resolving to act, descends to the depths of his own being and, with purity and humility of heart, asks questions of and listens to the voice which speaks to him and commands him; and requires that he then follow with resolution and courageous spirit his own 'inner voice,' whatever it may be, trusting in the Providence that directs human affairs."

There is more than an echo of Bishop Butler and our Quaker writers in these words. Croce's creative individualist notion of freedom implicitly resolves the long-standing antithesis between order and liberty, for it is his view that liberty struggles against authority, yet desires it; while authority checks liberty, yet keeps it alive or awakens it. An anarchist might ponder this paradox.

Croce's morals and politics hold together as a doctrine. The whole is illuminating and valuable. While I cannot share Croce's views on either morals or politics, I recommend his book as a lucid and informed statement of a coherent philosophy, sincerely and courageously held. It will, I believe, be of great interest to pacifists whose minds are troubled by the problems he deals with.

MAURICE CRANSTON.

TECHNIQUES OF WAR

Armament and History. By Major-General J. F. C. Fuller. Eyre and Spottiswood. 12s. 6d.

IN this book, General Fuller traces the history of warfare from classical antiquity to the present day in an attempt to prove his thesis that the techniques of war determine the technique of peace. He is flirting with a profound hypothesis, implications of which he does not understand.

All tools are weapons. The real significance of the discovery of the cutting edge was that it made possible, not the carpenter's knife but the warrior's sword; and the historical significance of man's achievement in splitting the atom is not to be seen in the Utopian possibilities of peaceful application but in the probability of atomic war.

General Fuller believes that war is inherent in the nature of human society. But with the advent of machine-power history took a new turn, and the influence of war upon society became not merely greater in degree but different in kind. Man becomes the slave of his machines, and mechanised war is no longer an instrument of policy but an end in itself.

But General Fuller does not suggest that men go to war for the sheer joy of fighting. The cause of all wars is, at bottom, economic. But the characteristic feature of modern war is that it does not in fact bring economic gain to the victors. Potsdam is the apotheosis of economic insanity. It might be economically profitable to conquer and possess the industrial resources of Germany. To destroy them is obviously lunatic.

Total war—destructive war—war

World-Order or Chaos. By W. H. Chamberlin. Duckworth. 15s.

MR. CHAMBERLIN has won a deserved reputation as an honest foreign correspondent and commentator on world affairs. Any book of his is sure to be worth reading. But books on world-affairs are quickly out of date in these days; and since Mr. Chamberlin's was written before the end of the war—some time between Teheran and Yalta—much of it seems strangely remote. Yet Mr. Chamberlin was certainly one of the least glib and most realistic critics of "the conduct of the Allies" in 1944; that his book seems remote and even rose-coloured in 1946 is an indication how much the world-situation has deteriorated in the last two years.

What are the chief factors which Mr. Chamberlin had to leave out of his reckoning—the chief omissions which give one a sense of queerness? First, the atom-bomb; second, Mr. Truman, Mr. Chamberlin, like everybody else, had not the faintest idea that either of these would emerge as world-events. On the other hand, he had no idea that Mr. Churchill would soon disappear from the front of the stage.

In Mr. Chamberlin's view—shared at the time by most objective observers—Churchill's policy was only a degree less sinister than that of Stalin; and Roosevelt—who comes in for a good deal of severe criticism—was a simpleton being either led up the garden by Churchill alone, or fooled by the Churchill-Stalin ring. The danger, as Mr. Chamberlain then saw it, was that Europe would be divided into Russian and British spheres of influence.

It is odd that Mr. Chamberlin, who has a very clear perception of the power of the USA and understands the impossibility of a "power-vacuum" should thus have overestimated the role of Britain. Britain's political influence in the two years since Mr. Chamberlin wrote has been clearly revealed as quite subordinate to that of USA. It is as much as Mr. Bevin can do to evince any independence whatever of USA and a large section of the Labour Party believes that he has none at all. The most probable reason for Mr. Chamberlin's miscalculation is that Churchill did, in fact, exercise a good deal of moral ascendancy over Roosevelt: which only goes to show how little personal relations between

as an end in itself: this is what General Fuller calls the Churchillian as opposed to the Clausewitzian view of war, which was that it should subserve the policies of the statesmen. The Churchillian view is dominant to-day. War is an end in itself because it appears to be the only force capable of preserving a machine society from internal disintegration.

It is a dismal analysis, the author not having the vaguest notion what to do about it. His conception of the economic causes of war is limited to a conviction that the gold standard is a bad thing; and an occasional reference to the Elders of Zion reminds us sadly that he was once a contributor to the fascist "Action." The real problem, he acknowledges, is to free man from the machine. But he has no policy to advocate, and he will not find one until he looks wider than the strange borderlands of fascism and social credit.

His only hope for the future would be funny if it were not tragic. It is that Clausewitz should come into his own again, and the next war be fought with a clearer eye to economic gain than was the last. Hiroshima need not be the pattern.

"Destruction not by super-atomic bombs, but, as hitherto, by weapons of various types and powers devised to enable the rocket-ship-borne armies to accomplish what is tactically necessary: the imposition of will upon will and not merely of force upon force or obliteration upon obliteration, in the shortest possible time and with the least material damage, so that a profitable peace can be won."

BILL GRINDLAY.

Before Yalta—and Mr. Truman

statesmen can affect the relations of power in the present impersonal age.

Again, two years ago Mr. Chamberlin was mainly engaged in warning the American public against its sentimentalization of Soviet Russia. Today that is hardly necessary. Indeed, it is probably more pertinent now to remind the American public of the very great difficulty which the Soviet Union has in adjusting its mentality to the necessities of the atomic age. Whereas the Western mind is bound to revert to the basic idea of a League of Nations, because it is the logical consequence of its democratic principles, what is required of the Soviet mind is not reversion, but revolution: because its principles lead clean away from the idea of a League of Nations.

JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY.

Tragedy of Europe

Children of Vienna—Robert Neumann, (Gollancz 7s. 6d.)

German Diary—Fenner Brockway, (Gollancz 6s.)

IN a basement under the rubble live the children of Vienna: Goy and Yid and Curls, the young girl Eve, and the girl-child Tiny. There is also fair pig-tailed Ate, who comes to drink dried turnip peel tea with Eve.

"There were eleven. Six are gone. I mean, dead. They are still there. It was so cold we couldn't dig properly. But there is no smell so long as it is cold," Curls tells the man who is the Civic Executive.

As the story unfolds, a sense of revulsion against the terrible sordidness of its detail is lost. Out of the mire, into which they are so soon to be pushed back, the children emerge in their primal innocence.

Finally, the miracle of one short-lived outbreak of love, as embodied in the person of the negro Chaplain, the Reverend Hoseah Washington Smith leaves behind a feeling of triumph, against which horror, disgust, pity, as well as the incredulous question, "Can this be true?" pale into insignificance.

Commonsense answers that it must be true: even worse things must be true. It will be very difficult to forget Goy and Yid and Curls, Eve and Tiny and Ate. "Children of Vienna" presents us with the sharp edges of physical and moral waifage.

By comparison, "German Diary" is an account by Fenner Brockway of his fourteen day visit to Germany in April of this year and gives us the picture of a society which is still coherent. We are introduced to those elements in the British Zone which are struggling to build up free Trades Unions and to revive the Social Democratic Party. Fenner Brockway himself was the first Britisher to speak to German workers since the war, on their first May Day Trade Union demonstration since Hitler, held in the Planten un Blomen, Hamburg.

The ration level in all sectors of Berlin was found to be one-third higher than in the British Zone, so that the people of this city, although hungry, were not so hungry as the people of Hamburg. To the writer of this diary, however, hunger is not the most tragic thing in Germany but the inside story of "Einheit" (fusion): the pressure brought to bear by the Russians in their Zone and their sector of Berlin upon the Social Democratic Party for fusion with the Communists. As always, the attack is made through the leaders. Their opposition to fusion is followed by loss of employment, eviction from their homes, deportation and internment in concentration camps.

This is an extremely readable book and its conclusions are ably summed up by the author in his preface: "Germany is now the battleground on which the issue of Democratic Socialism or Totalitarian Communism for the whole of Europe may be decided. . . Britain should be as clearly the instrument of Democratic Socialism in the world as Russia is the instrument of Totalitarian Communism."

G. E. R.

Norway despite the Nazis

A People Who Loved Peace. By Roy Walker. Gollancz. 3s. 6d.

THOSE unhappy clergymen who prepared the report of the British Council of Churches on *The Era of Atomic Power* must be buying this book of Roy Walker's greedily, and heaving vast sighs of relief on being rescued, at last, from "the torment of the dilemma" to which they have so long been martyrs. No longer need they feel that there is no alternative to surrender before totalitarianism but the atomic massacre of populations!

The Society of Friends, in their beautiful reply to the Council, recalled that "many Christians who resisted the Nazi tyranny in Germany, Holland, Norway and France won the admiration of us all and set a fine example of Christian citizenship in which there was neither violence nor surrender." Roy Walker's sober, carefully documented and impartial account of the Norwegian Resistance adds a weight to that statement which can hardly be counter-balanced.

For the Norwegian Resistance was Christian in a peculiar sense. It was initiated and led by the Norwegian Church, and was directed, with fine discrimination, not against the occupying power as such, but against the anti-Christian measures of the occupying power. It was less nationalistic, in the vulgar sense, than any other Resistance the Nazis encountered. In the statements of Bishop Berggrav, we hear the authentic voice of primitive Christianity, challenging not the secular order, which in itself may be ethically neutral, but the perversion of that order to false ideals.

The struggle, so far as it had this object, was entirely successful: not a single value was surrendered. And thanks to its predominantly non-violent character, the evil principle that any means is justified by the end was never instilled into the Norwegians—as it was into the French, Poles and others who adopted guerrilla tactics—to poison their political life long after the Nazis had been expelled.

A *People who loved Peace* deserves the widest possible publicity. Such an historical study is worth more than all the abstract talk about "the technique of non-violence" which used to be the staple of some PPU Groups before the war. And, as I say, it should bring untold relief to all those poor clergymen—supposing that they want to be relieved.

F. A. L.

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RE-UNION DINNER FOR "JAIL" C.O.s

VISITORS to the C.O.s reunion supper last Saturday would have wondered what all the laughter was about. They would have been puzzled to hear that those present were "celebrating" their connection with an institution which is a blot on our landscape. Every man and woman present had been in prison during the recent war, and the conversation was in prison vernacular.

This is the largest such reunion held since the war and was due to some imaginative work by Rex Whittaker, whose foresight was welcomed by the meeting's unanimous decision that the occasion should become at least an annual affair.

Roger Page took the chair, flanked by the two guests of honour, Kathleen Lonsdale and Michael Tippett. The speech-making was cut to a minimum, but Dr. Lonsdale, in a witty but constructive speech, reminded the meeting that those who had prison experience were under a moral obligation to use that knowledge for the betterment of prisons.

Community singing, starting off somewhat ironically with "Soldiers of the King," showed Will Coppin in a new light as he pounded the tunes out on the piano.

The gathering showed that the conchie, while remembering the inhumanity of the presiding officialdom, the stink of the lavatories and the horrible food served up in prison, can yet laugh at those times and remember them with some little affection.

R. R. R.

'The House under the Hill'

HOW far can one "educate the masses" by means of higher art laid on with the water and electricity? And do the motives of its exponents ever rise above mere exhibitionism and self-aggrandisement? Should not the seeker after truth and beauty rather withdraw from the imperfect world and create his own private cell of harmony in the "interstices of the Universe"?

These are some of the questions posed in Terence Greenidge's play "The House Under the Hill," given its first showing last week at the Bankside "Little" Theatre, Ealing.

It is a pity that they remain largely unanswered. Mr. Greenidge has plenty of ideas, but he has not yet learnt how to exploit them on the stage. In spite of almost ideal conditions for the presentation of this "conversation-piece" (plus some not very well contrived melodrama) and a most sympathetic interpretation by the players, the characters do not develop.

The dialogue is sometimes marred by irrelevant allusions, and a little more selectiveness would have sharpened the edge of the argument.

Mr. Greenidge is a pacifist writer of promise. Fulfilment would come with a greater mastery of technique.

M. T.

Towards an International Police Force

What are the minimum conditions?

by PATRICK FIGGIS

THERE is increasing agreement, in this country at any rate, on the necessity of establishing an international police force in place of separate national armies. Obviously it would be asking for trouble if, before reducing and pooling their forces, the nations were not to agree on some principles that would determine the character and function of such a force. At the start there cannot be such general agreement on the part of the nations in respect of this force as there is today, for instance, among English people in respect of our police. What are the minimum principles to be agreed before an international police force can usefully begin to function?

One is that the peoples whose representatives will compose this force will be agreed in general terms upon the kind of society to be encouraged. If some are totalitarian in outlook and do not believe in toleration while others are democratic in the sense that essentially they do believe in toleration, then there may arise incidents of disorder with which such a force should deal, but in which this particular force will be in no moral position to deal with.

Unfortunately agreement on this point does not at present exist. But it is so important that we should if at all possible end the present anarchy of sovereign states and establish world order, that I do not think that this difficulty should deter us from proceeding with the idea.

The purpose

One essential is the purpose for which such a force should be used. It must not be to kill, though in the process that may be unavoidable. It must be to arrest the ringleaders and bring them before a world court. In spite of the hypocrisy of Nuremberg, the fact that such a trial was held at all, together with the fact that certain of the accused were acquitted, suggests that such a procedure, improved upon, might come to be regarded as correct.

This raises the question of the kind of "force" that the international

police force will use. Indiscriminate bombing is clearly ruled out. We shall have to agree to restrict ourselves to weapons that can be used with at least approximate discrimination. Such agreement I do not consider impossible, provided that (as will have to be the case) there is international control of atomic energy. For, whatever fundamental disagreement may still exist among the nations, the continuation and perfecting of indiscriminate warfare is not the interests of any nation.

Finally, all separate national preparation for war must cease when the international force gets under way. This is the most important principle to be agreed and acted upon. Otherwise the controlled functioning of the international force is liable to be made of no avail by a dissatisfied nation reverting in a crisis to the use of its own weapons. Agreement here on the part of the big nations is fundamental. What chance is there of such agreement?

Tremendous step

We need to remember that this is a tremendous step for USA, USSR, France, China and Great Britain to take. The transition will not speedily be carried through, since it involves among other things the international control of atomic energy. It is, moreover, improbable that USA or USSR at any rate will cease altogether from their own national defence preparations until they see the international force getting under way and begin to have confidence in it. This means that Great Britain, for instance, may have to decide whether she will subscribe to the new force before she knows for certain that the other nations are going entirely to disband their separate armies and trust only to the new force. There cannot be an advance guarantee on this point. Will she take this line?

Provided that atomic energy can be brought under international control, and given reason to believe that other international armies will soon be disbanded, I hope that she will support the new force. It will involve a risk. But so will any other step that she may take. The important fact to bear in mind is that any reduction in separate national war preparations will improve the situation.

I wish that she would also make it plain that right from the beginning she will trust only in the international force and not retain armaments of her own. Such an extra contribution would considerably increase the likelihood of the new force proving to be a genuine international police force based on increasing trust among us all.

Words of Peace - No. 199

UNBLESSSED

Weapons, however successful, are unblessed instruments to every creature. Therefore he who has the Eternal will not employ them.

—Tao - Te - Ching, quoted in "Inner Light."

December 13, 1946, PEACE NEWS—5

HAMBURG F.O.R. NEEDS HELP

AN urgent appeal has reached IVSP on behalf of the FOR Group in that city which is seeking to alleviate the appalling conditions in a camp for disabled German soldiers. They are the only welfare organisation doing so and urgently need supplies of mending materials, including odd pieces of cloth for patching, drawing and writing materials and other comforts to make life more tolerable for the men.

Gifts of this kind will be very gratefully acknowledged by Leslie Gore, IVSP Head Office, 11a, St. Andrews Road, London, E.13 who will forward them in bulk to Hamburg.

Publications received

Prelude to the Orpheus, by Hugh Robertson (Hodge).

This little book, telling of the early struggles of the Glasgow Orpheus Choir by its conductor, of the difficulties met with and the methods and enthusiasm by which they were overcome, should not only be of special interest to those associated with choirs, but a stimulating suggestion to many who are not. Choral singing, on these lines, offers great possibilities.

What Can I Do?—A Symposium of Service (PPU 1/-).

Ten contributors, each engaged in Social Service, describe the nature and particular needs of their own form of service. Useful book lists and addresses are given for those encouraged to further action.

W.F.A. Advance Information on Exchange Plans, 1947. (Gratis from World Friendship Association, 29 Portman Sq., W.1.)

In 1946 the W.F.A. arranged exchange holidays for 16,000 young people from Britain, Belgium, Holland, Denmark and France. The booklet contains particulars of an ambitious programme for 1947, together with full details of how to take advantage of W.F.A. schemes for holidays abroad.

Germany in Eclipse, by Lindley Fraser. (Bureau of Current Affairs).

This pamphlet is intended as a text for discussion, and is excellently suited for the purpose. It will provoke discussion not only on the German outlook but the English, whose frequent self-righteousness could nowhere be more perfectly—because unconsciously—exemplified.

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When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.

We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

MEETINGS, &c.

HAMPSTEAD GARDEN SUBURB. Bigwood Tea House, Northway, N.W.11 (buses 102 and 58). Nov. 26, Dec. 16, Jan. 9, 8 p.m. Three addresses on "What is a Christian?" Miss Olive M. Hughes. The Order of the Cross, Hampstead Group, Spe. 4937.

LONDON, W.C.1. Endsleigh Gardens. Discussion lectures every Sun. 7.30 p.m. Dec. 15: "An Anarchist Reviews the Coming Crisis." Eric Maple. Dec. 22 and 29: No Meeting. London Anarchist Group.

ACCOMMODATION

DELIGHTFULLY SITUATED. Sunny Surrey. Vegetarian Guest House, cradled amidst beautiful pine-woods, 2 1/2 acre grounds, brochure "Pinebrae," Lower Bourne, Farnham. Telephone Farnham 417.

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holidays or restful recuperation; all modern comforts. A. and K. S. Ludlow. The Briars, Crich, Matlock. (Station: Ambergate. Tel.: Ambergate 44).

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

VEGETARIANS URGENTLY need to rent an unfurn. house nr. Eastbourne or Seaford. Box 595.

EDUCATIONAL

ELMTREES. GREAT Missenden, Bucks, nursery and prep. home school co-ed from 3, increased accommodation: vacancies for children, resident gardener and cook. Apply Sec.

SPEAKING AND WRITING lessons (correspondence, or visit) 5s., classes 1s. 6d. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3. PRImrose 5686.

SCHOOLS

BECKETTS SCHOOL and Community. Skenfrith, Mon. Individual care and home security from 3 yrs. Apply Sec.

FOR SALE & WANTED

NOVELTY FACE Cloths, 1s. 6d. each, plain with fancy border 1s. 3d., plastic bracelets 2s., plus postage. All suitable for Christmas presents. Hutchins, Bumsley Mill, Parracombe, Barnstaple. (Please note new address).

WAR RESISTERS' International wd. welcome gifts of foreign stamps for subsequent sale on behalf of W.R.I. funds. Any such gifts received with gratitude. Pl. send to the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield.

HEDDYCHWYR CYMRU. 1947 Calendars now ready 1s. each. Photo and autograph of new Chairman P.P.U. State whether English or Welsh required. Apply Thomas, 161 Lake Rd. West, Cardiff.

"PEACE AND Christmas"—the PN Christmas pamphlet of seasonal Drawings and Verse is widely praised. People are ordering dozens (for 3s. 6d. with envelopes) and using them instead of cards. Send 5d. for a specimen copy to PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

WANTED. FLAT or house, rent or purchase, London area. Felton, 5 Denholme Road, W.9.

LITERATURE, &c.

"WILL THE Church Renounce War?" 4d. post free from Rev. T. Brock Richards, Hough-on-the-Hill, Grantham.

QUAKERISM. Information and Literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London.

PERSONAL

MERRY CHRISTMAS wanted for 72 delinquent youths at Agricultural Training Colony. Gifts or money welcomed. John Williams, Turners Court, Benson, Oxon.

MARRIED COUPLE require £300 loan. Repayments to spread over four years. Box 598.

CONTACT CLUB. Congenial pen friendships for all. Partica., stp., Sec., P.N. 19 Ty Fry Gdn., Rummy, Cardiff.

ASTROLOGY.—A free Test Horoscope. Helpful advice and guidance. Send Birthdate, stamped-addressed envelope. The Psycho-Success Institute, (A.28), 64 Aldermanbury, London, E.C.2.

SITUATIONS VACANT

We cannot confirm satisfactory conditions of employment in all posts advertised. Applications in doubt are recommended to consult the Central Board for C.O.s, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1, which will often be able to give useful advice.

GARDENER NEEDED school Community. Becketts, Blackbrooke, Skenfrith, Mon.

BECKETTS SCHOOL need cook, matron and qualified teacher for junior group for educational community. Apply Blackbrooke, Skenfrith, Mon.

NURSE COMPANION wanted for elderly gentleman. Not necessarily experienced. Middle-aged preferred. Easy post. Light domestic duties, own bed-sitting room with wireless. Apply Box 594.

REQUIRED IN January in West London Grammar School, Master to teach French only throughout the School. Apply Box 594.

SITUATIONS and WORK WANTED

ADVERTISER WILL take clerical work to do at home, envelope addressing, etc., at low rates. Box 597.

INTELLIGENT WOMAN desires domestic post in progressive Co-Educ. school. Cooking, housekeeping, interested in and knowledge of food reform and vegetarian cooking. 4 yrs. recent experience. Box 596.

C.O., AGED 45, needs light occupation, or homework. Suggestions welcomed. Residing Woodford, Essex. Box 599.

SOCIALIST OBJECTOR, now demobbed, seeks peace time land work. Private farm or community. Willing to learn. Preferences Worcs., Warwicks. or Northants. Box 592.

FIRST CLASS duplicating of all descriptions, typewriting, etc. Mabel Eyles, 2 Aberdeen Park, Highbury, N.5. Tel. Canonbury 8862.

MISCELLANEOUS

JOHN SNOW. Naturopath and Psychologist. By appointment. Postal advice service. 14 Lambs Close, Edmonton, N.9.

ACCOUNTANT C.O. writes up traders bks.; attends to all Income Tax matters; company formation; audits and costing. Provincial clients visited without obligation. Box 96.

GOOD PRINTING of every description. Write for quotation and samples. Leighton Dingley and Co., 70 Brackley Sq., Woodford Green, Essex.

A WORD to the ailing. Do not despair. Start today. Send for two 20-page booklets of encouraging life-conserving information about Garlic, which comes nearer to a universal remedy than any thing given by Nature for the use of man. Send stamps 5d. to Allysol Company, Fairlight, Sussex.

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Baruch Plan - or nothing

COMMENTARY CONTINUED

Thus, the original Baruch proposals are again in the foreground. And now, through Mr. Baruch, USA is pressing for a quick and clear decision.

For the record

HIS actual words are to be remembered. They may well become historic.

"I do not ask you to discuss or vote on these proposals at this time... but I do ask the chairman to call a meeting of this Commission as early as convenient to debate if necessary and to act upon these findings and recommendations so that the position each nation takes upon them may be recorded in this Commission's report, which must be drafted by December 20."

"My country hopes for the adhesion of all, and we seek especially the participation of the Soviet Union. We welcome the recent authoritative of its highest representatives. From these we are justified in concluding that it no longer regards the original American proposals as unacceptable as a whole or in their separate parts."

"We welcome co-operation, but we stand upon our basic principles, even if we stand alone. We shall not be satisfied with pious professions lulling the peoples into a false sense of security. We aim at an effective plan of control and will not accept anything else."

It is, as I have repeatedly urged in these columns, the Baruch proposals—or their substantial equivalent—or nothing, and nothing means war.

Right or reason

I WONDER whether the following propositions, enunciated by the Manchester Guardian (Nov. 30) are as clear and as acceptable to others as they are to me.

"It should be absolutely clear by now that so long as the Great Power veto remains there can be no atomic control, which is as much as to say there can be no real disarmament (as distinct from changing old weapons for new), for that ideal has now a hard atomic core."

"This is made true because America will most certainly not give up her present reserves of bombs and installations for making more until she can be fairly sure that a day will not come when some other state is discovered to have these things while their inventor is quite without. Once again, the veto is the stumbling block. It is to the end of the veto and to the beginning of world-government that all hopes must turn, but whether we have any right or reason to expect such blissful events in our time is another matter."

The only right or reason that men have to expect them lies in the certainty of the dreadful fate that awaits them if they fail to create the nucleus of a world-government. We must not allow ourselves to be depressed by the reluctance with which the Great Powers admit this realisation to full consciousness. It is utterly revolutionary; and it runs clean counter to the great new ideological cleavage which has developed in our time.

The one thing needful

IT IS not easy for men—ordinary men or statesmen—of this age to realize that the cleavage between Capitalism and Communism is an entirely secondary matter now, save in so far as it diverts men's minds from receiving the truth that the primary and overriding necessity is to abolish war. Not to avoid war, but to abolish it. War cannot be avoided. Unless it is abolished, it will happen. And to abolish war demands a concerted and

creative act from the Great Powers of the world.

It may be necessary for the time being that the revolutionary simplicity of that creative act shall be concealed under diplomatic verbiage; and that statesmen should familiarise themselves and their peoples with it only by degrees. But the events of the past week do really give some ground for hope that they are coming nearer to "the one thing needful." It would be a queer paradox if, as the statesmen approached it, the pacifists should shy away.

The last puncture?

SIR HARTLEY SHAWCROSS can hardly have been speaking without book when, as leader of the British delegation to UNO, he said on December 2:

"There is no safe ground for asserting that the atomic bomb remains the most terrible weapon of all. There are even more terrible means of destruction which have not been mentioned by name in this committee but whose existence is not unknown."

I am the last person to start guessing in this field; but the other day someone whose knowledge in these matters is greater than my own—which is not saying much—suggested that some people may have discovered how to puncture the Heavyside layer which (I understand) protects the earth from stellar radiations and enables life to exist. That would be an even more appropriate weapon for nihilism than the atomic bomb.

And must not nihilism increase, unless the human race is given some security or tenure? The uncertainty which gave Hitler his opportunity in Germany was a very small thing compared to the uncertainty which mankind will experience if all attempts after collective security fail, and a new race for preparedness in the new kind of war begins.

Arms and security

CERTAINLY, in that event the sanest thing to do would be for this country to get out of the armaments race altogether. But that would not give security, a reasonable expectation of life without which human beings cannot plan their lives, cannot indeed live rationally at all. Britain would be altogether too precious a bridgehead in World War III to be allowed the sequestered existence of Eire in World War II. Unilateral disarmament, indeed, would probably induce a friendly consciousness of insecurity in the many who are still reassured by the bare fact of national armament—no matter how futile and irrelevant it may be.

Candidly, I cannot conceive the British people proceeding to unilateral disarmament if its chance of security is not thereby increased. Individuals may have that sort of faith, but a mass-society will hardly come to it. Universal disarmament is the only way that the modern mass-society can take towards security. And universal disarmament, as the Manchester Guardian says, is quite impossible without the abolition of the veto-power.

By the New Year

THAT does not mean that Russia must immediately surrender the veto on the Security Council; but it does mean that the Security Council will be faced, very quickly, with the challenge: "Will it agree to create an authority more powerful than itself?"

In theory, Mr. Molotov is approaching this position, when he says that "the principle of unanimity has no reference to the rules" of the commissions for inspection and control of armaments which he himself had proposed. Either the findings and recommendations of such a commission are themselves subject to veto on the Security Council (in which case the whole system is absolutely worthless, and will be rejected out of hand as humbug by USA and Britain) or the control commissions become, immediately and necessarily, more powerful than the Security Council which engenders them. If Russia has really come to this position, or is coming to it, then a revolutionary step towards world-peace has been taken.

Does Russia mean business? We shall not be kept in doubt very long. By the New Year it will, I think, be clear whether Russia is willing to join with USA and Britain in the concerted and creative act necessary to abolish war. If not, the deterioration of the world-situation will be sudden and catastrophic. If she is, then the star in the East will have risen indeed, star in the East will have risen indeed.

CONSCRIPTION "DIVORCED FROM REALITIES"

- London protest

IN a world in which science is perfecting weapons more potent even than the atom bomb, proposals for the indefinite continuance of military conscription are "divorced from the realities of today," declared a resolution unanimously adopted at a public meeting in Friends House, Euston Road, held on Dec. 3, under the auspices of the No Conscription Council. Such proposals were not only "a denial of individual liberty and alien to Labour Party tradition but as opposed also to the ideals and purposes of UNO and weakening its effectiveness."

Lord Faringdon presided over a well-filled hall and a widely representative platform. A sense of urgency and deep sincerity ran through the speeches. A message from Vera Brittain declared that conscription "lays an intolerable burden upon the shoulders of innocent and helpless youth."

Train for welfare

A plea that those who were sent out by the Government of this country to "police" other territories should not be trained in the use of weapons but in welfare work was made by Mrs. Cecily Cook, general secretary of the Women's Co-operative Guild. This plan was supported by working women from a number of different countries who held an international conference recently.

Dr. Joad pointed out that after fighting a great war for "security" they were now so insecure that they were told they had to conscript—for the first time—one and a quarter million men, so that they could continue to pursue security by a totally exploded method! On the day the first atom bomb was dropped the total abolition and renunciation of war ceased to be a Utopian dream and became an elementary condition of human survival.

Mr. Ian Mikardo, MP, felt that coming at this time the announcement of permanent conscription in this country would have a most unfortunate effect upon world peace. It also savoured of preparations not for the next war but the last—and he painted a horrifying picture of the vast preparations for future war which USA was making.

A plea for a stand against conscription on Christian grounds was made by Dr. Donald Soper, who declared that this could only be effectively carried out by those who believed the world to be of God's making. Other speakers were Mr. Victor Yates, MP, who moved the anti-conscription amendment in the House of Commons, and Mrs. Mabel Ridealgh, MP.

Commons echo of U.S. C.O.s' service

In answering a question in the House on Dec. 5, the Minister of Labour agreed that, when considering the arrangements to be made for conscientious objectors to military service in peace time, he "would examine the results of the war-time experiments in the USA, where conscientious objectors gave valuable service as voluntary helpers in mental hospitals."

GOLLANCZ SAYS OUR ZONE STILL GETTING WORSE

VICTOR GOLLANCZ, on his return from Germany, told a Hampstead audience of 600 that the position in the British zone was rapidly worsening. He had spent about seven weeks, mainly in Hamburg, Kiel, Dusseldorf and the Ruhr, twice as long as the time so far spent in Germany by Mr. Hynd. Many people were existing on 400-500 calories daily. When he visited a "Bunker School," he found that half the 800 children there had had nothing to eat before 2.30 p.m.

He was particularly disturbed by the extreme disparities in standards of living between the Germans and the occupying forces and by their complete separation from each other.

The audience unanimously resolved to thank the Government for allowing the parcels scheme and urged further constructive action. A collection for "Save Europe Now" raised more than £100.

AFTER the annual meeting of the International Voluntary Service for Peace (held on Nov. 30-Dec. 1) a discussion took place on future work. A resolution was passed urging the Government, "if conscription is retained, to recognise as equivalent to military service international civilian service (such as that organised by 'Service Civil International') which, through the medium of constructive work in which people of all nationalities, creeds and political opinions may take part, contribute to the mutual understanding of nations and to accept such international civilian service as a possible condition of exemption on conscientious grounds."

The resolution also "hopes that eventually compulsion will be abolished, or, at least, that a choice between international civilian service and military service will be completely free."

PPU JOURNAL

THE January number of PPU's own magazine—a special Christmas issue—will be despatched next Thursday. If you do not see it regularly send 5d. for a specimen copy. Regular readers are reminded that subscriptions for 1947 are now due. Those supplied direct from Peace News office have received reminders and are asked to remit without further delay. Groups and PN distributors will make their own arrangements with those supplied through these channels.

PPU CHRISTMAS CARDS

There is still a considerable stock of the eight attractive cards available this year. Among the various designs there is something for everyone, and prices are very reasonable. Sets of eight samples are supplied for 2s. (including postage) and readers should send, as soon as possible, to Peace News office, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

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Doors open 6.30 p.m.

World Government—the way to Peace!

Speakers:

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Air Vice-Marshal Bennett,

Henry Ushorne, MP.

Admission free.

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